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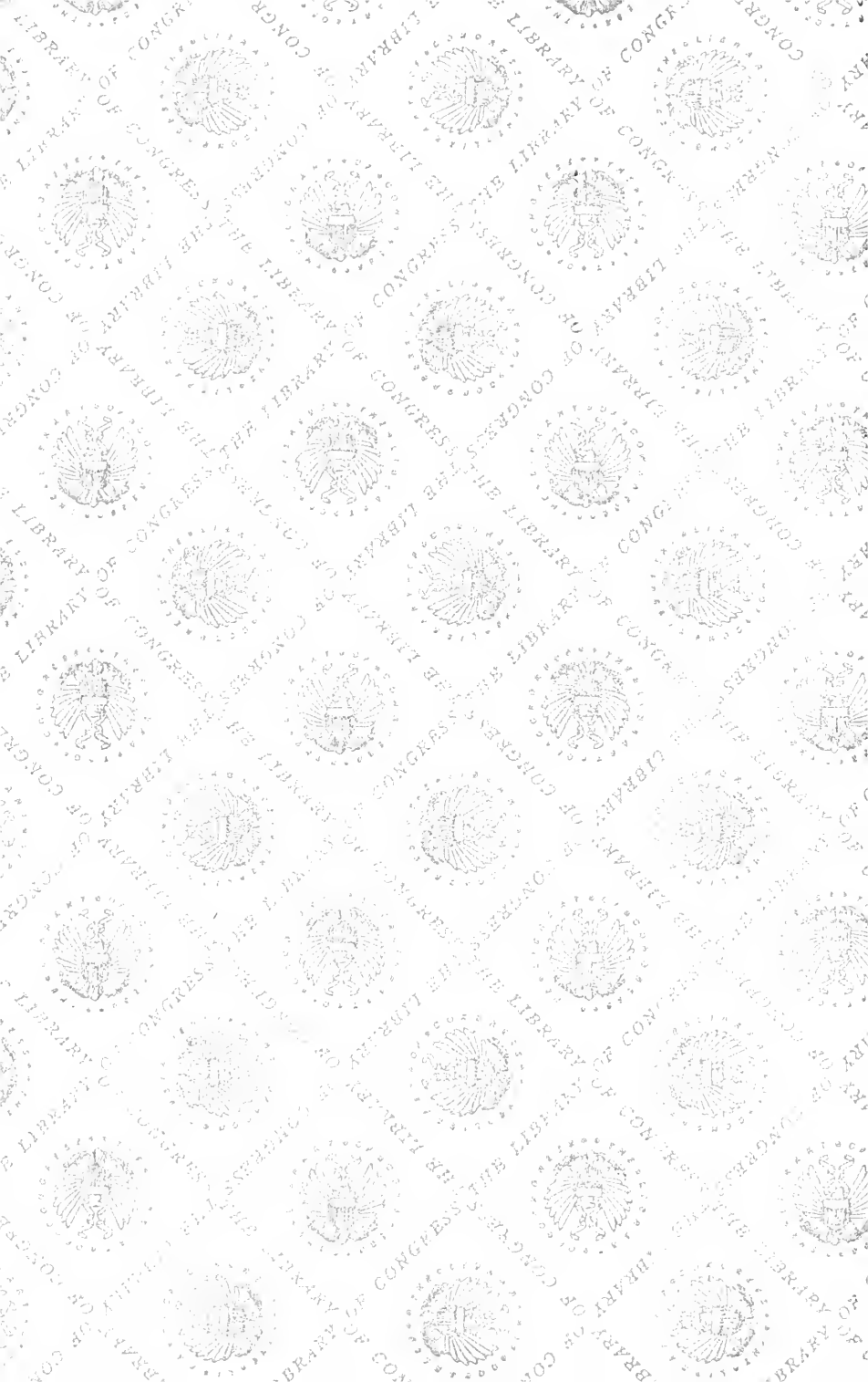
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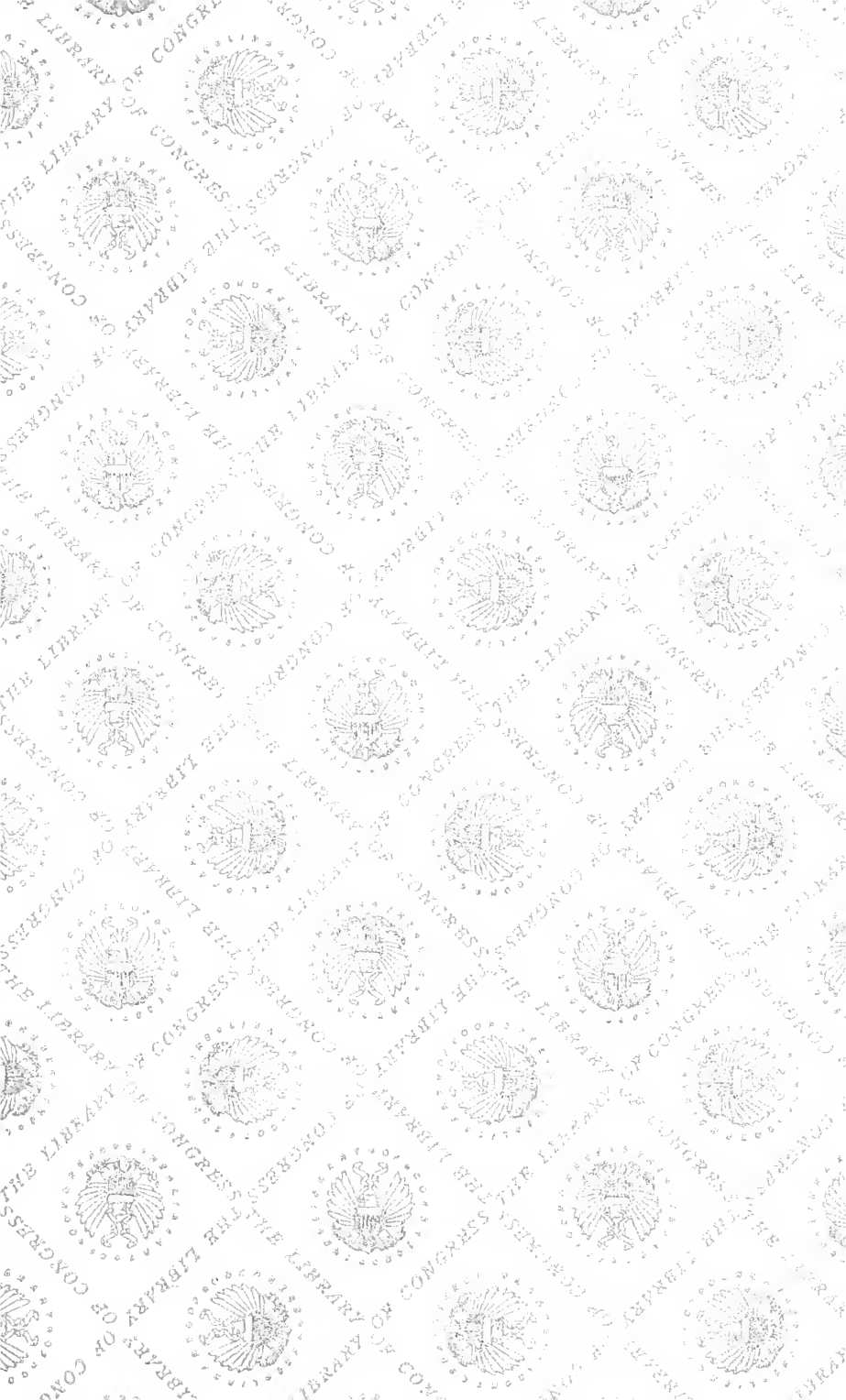
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13 Oct 1861
FOURTH EDITION.

AN APPEAL

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE NORTH.

Fellow Countrymen:—We appeal to you as Christians and Patriots, to lend your influence in staying the storm that is sweeping to ruin both our social fabric and our political existence. Already the financial and industrial interests of the whole country have been prostrated by the shock that foretells the fury of the growing storm, and solely, in sympathetic dread of a future, so pregnant with evil, men's hearts have failed them from fear, work-shops are closed, spinning-wheels are silent, hammers no longer ring out a merry chime to Industry's jubilee, strong arms and willing hands have no employment, a hundred thousand working men and women are idle, and five times a hundred thousand human beings are reduced to the verge of starvation, in the midst of plenty and of peace! The sturdy oak of Union, with scattered leaves and broken limbs, bends its solid trunk before the blast, tearing the ground as root after root breaks loose, and sways to and fro with sweeps lower and lower to the earth, from whose bosom its riven and prostrate form, when once fallen, *can never rise again.*

Notwithstanding the dread of the future thus hanging like a funereal pall over every community, and wrenching from agonized hearts the cry "*why should these things be?*" notwithstanding prophetic warnings, soul-stirring appeals and earnest entreaties, notwithstanding the glorious history of the past, the prosperity and happiness of the present, and the certain prospect of dismal ruin and overwhelming desolation in the future, reckless politicians are still busy, even at this perilous moment, *in aggravating the discord and loosening the bonds which have heretofore held us together as one people*, living in unity and concord, under one government, with one country and one name.

It is too late now for discussion! The nation is in the throes of a mighty convulsion. Already several States have seceded and others are on the eve of severing their connection with the Federal Government. The sacred tie once broken, the remaining States will fall apart as so many shattered fragments. In this wreck of the Union all the slave-holding States will be forced in self-defense and for mutual protection to confederate under a common government, and if they adopt the present U. S. Constitution, they would present to the world a rich and powerful people, cemented together by equality of rights, by unity of interests and unanimity of sentiment. Severally dependent upon each other for mutual protection, how much stronger will be the compact, sustained as it will be, by ties of kindred, by pecuniary interest, by similarity in education, by mutual confidence, by natural affinity, and by a common welfare.

C. Lowell

Would there exist among the several Northern States, should the present Union be discovered, that harmony of feeling and of interest, which will thus bind the whole of the Slave-holding States together as a unit?

Would not Massachusetts, whose barren rocks and sterile soil are so genial in the prolific growth of ultra fanaticisms and of every kind of religious and political intolerance, still domineer over and persecute her orphan sister States? Would not New York in the pride of wealth and strength, *rule*, with imperial,—yea, imperious sway, her weakened and impoverished New England neighbors?

Would not toil-worn and patient-enduring Pennsylvania, goaded with envy and jealousy, stretch forth her strong, brawny arm to wrest the sceptre from her Northern rival, enervated by luxury and fancied security? Would not Ohio, impatient of law and moral restraint, make Indiana her vassal and exact tribute of Illinois?

Would not Michigan erect Gibraltar defences on her peninsular shores and for the protection of her own harvests, lay an embargo on North-Western wheat in its transit to tide-water? Would not Brigham Young rule the Mormon Kingdom with despotic sway, and forever sever the over-land communication between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts? Would not California be forced in self-protection to establish an independent empire; and Oregon and Washington be left to the desolating warfare of their Indian tribes?

Or would all these individual traits and popular tendencies, in striving and unsympathizing States be stayed, that they may unite in a common warfare to subjugate the Southern States in order to extinguish slavery? Even such a combination has no terror for the South; for the Southern people in the defence of their liberties and their rights will sacrifice their fortunes and their lives:—and in saying this, we but *honestly express the feeling that now pervades all communities in the South*. There is a fixed and solemn determination to stand or fall in defence of their rights as a sovereign people. Among those rights they claim protection from hostile interference with their domestic affairs: that protection was guaranteed to them in the Federal Constitution, which is the basis and the sole and only basis of Union between the several States, and when that Constitution shall be perverted to an instrument of oppression, they will withdraw from *Union* with the oppressing States.

THE CAUSES OF THE PRESENT TROUBLES.

That Constitution has been violated in act and deed, by the Northern States not only by the action of State Courts and by popular mobs, in preventing the arrest of fugitives from labor; and by State Laws nullifying Constitutional and Congressional enactments for the protection of the South; but it has been openly and defiantly violated by the people and the Executive Officers of several States *in encouraging these violations and pandering to a demoralized public sentiment*.

The Constitution has been further violated *in spirit and in sentiment*, by many of the Northern people. They have assumed to themselves an arrogant superiority and an insulting control over the rights, the conduct and the opinions of their Southern brethren. They have made *Northern anti-slavery views* THE ONE GREAT RULING IDEA in all gov-

erment, in all social intercourse, and in all religious toleration. Southern people who honestly differed from them in opinion, have been stigmatized, even on the floor of the United States Senate, as "ruffians and barbarians;" and because they dared to uphold the rights accorded to them by the Constitution and the Laws of their country, they have been driven off with imprecations and denunciations and excluded from Christian fellowship and Church communion with their Northern brethren. Thus have all the great Christian denominations, save one or two alone, been rent asunder, and Southern members of the same household of faith, been exiled from the homes and altars of their fathers, because forsooth, their presence was offensive to their negro-worshipping brethren. Thus have great bodies of fellow-christians been split in twain, and bigoted intolerance and Satanic fury have usurped the dominion in Christian hearts and expelled from human souls the only terms of future life, "brotherly love and Christian charity." Thus have Southern churches been expelled from social intercourse and religious communion with Northern churches, and Southern Christians been held up to infamy and branded as felons and infidels and outlaws, unworthy of association.

All bonds of affection, all kindness of feeling, all Christian good-will and peace, have been counted as nothing; all justice and right have been denied; all law and equity have been trampled under foot by our fellow-christians and our fellow-countrymen.

Inflammatory appeals, incendiary threats, "*moral suasion*" and other compulsory devices, have been used *to bring the Southern mind IN SUBJECTION to Northern anti-slavery sentiments.* Failing in these, scornful tirades, merciless abuse, and insulting provocations have been resorted to: *all these* have preyed upon the Southern heart and weaned its affections from its Northern brethren — *all these* have rankled in the Southern mind and produced distrust and suspicion in the place of confidence and respect, and *ALL THESE are the foundations of the present terrible commotion that is fast severing the political Union between the South and the North!* From year to year these insults and wrongs have been growing in number and increasing in strength, and *with this increase there has grown up in the North a monstrous and unhallowed spirit of aggression, and recklessness, that has hesitated at no wrong, even the most heinous; that has justified acts, even the most atrocious; and has attempted to perpetrate crimes even the most revolting!* Do the Northern people think their Southern brethren are "stocks and stones," and can not feel these things? Do they think human nature can never be pushed beyond the power of endurance? Verily, "they have sown to the wind, and are now reaping the whirlwind." But these violations were borne with patience, for a long time, by an insulted and aggrieved people, because they had strong confidence in the justice and honesty and ultimate ~~repentance~~ repentance of their brethren of the North, and were, therefore, willing to await the slow reaction of public sentiment in favor of Law and Equity, in favor of good feeling and Christian fellowship.

When, however, the Republican Convention met at Chicago, they adopted, amid tumultuous cheers, a *resolution, which was thrust upon the Convention at the last moment BY THE ABOLITION SECTION*, and which was intended as the grand clap-trap climax to their Anti-Slavery

Platform. That Resolution, the last to be adopted, was made the leading watch-word in an excited and heated political canvass, and it went forth as a vital principle in an *ad captandum creed*, to still further heat and excite the popular mind, and poison and alienate the popular feelings of the North against the Constitutional rights and the domestic institutions of the South. That Resolution declares, "that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And *what rights* are these, which this Resolution contends for? The Northern Republicans surely do not mean that they *themselves* do not already possess and enjoy the rights of liberty and the pursuit of happiness? For whom, then, do they demand these rights? The whole spirit of their platform, outside of the ordinary questions of political economy, *relates solely to the protection of "Southern servants" against all control as property*; and there is no meaning and no application in the Resolution, unless the Convention meant to say that the Southern bondman was created equal to his Southern master, and "HAD AN INALIENABLE RIGHT TO HIS LIBERTY AND HIS FREEDOM."

THIS, *at least*, is the construction which the South placed upon the Resolution, and the North has never denied the correctness of that interpretation. Thus for month after month, has the South felt, and grieved in the heart under the painful conviction, that this noble aphorism, which inspired our Revolutionary fathers to assert their rights and to fight for them against the oppressions and tyranny of their mother country was wrested from the Declaration of Independence, to be thus used as a taunt and a threat against the South, *solely*, because the Southern people *had preserved their Government and their Institutions* JUST AS THEY HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED *by the signers themselves of that Declaration and the very authors of that aphorism.*

This declaration of open and avowed hostility, to their Constitutional rights, to their guarantees of protection, to their political equality, to their domestic institutions, to their external security, to their internal peace, to their social tranquility, to their lives, to their fortunes and to their very existence as a people and as individuals, caused the people of the South to stand aghast and think their Northern brethren were indeed demented.

But patience and good will still ruled the hour!

It was for no idle cause, that this great and glorious Union should be destroyed; and with strong hopes that this tide of fanaticism, urged on by artful demagogues, would be rebuked by the masses in the late political conflict, they anxiously awaited the issue.

Alas! how delusive were their faith and trust in man!

The Anti-Slavery party—a mere *sectional party*, that had not the audacity to call itself NATIONAL, triumphed; and that very triumph, by a domineering majority, thus voting to sustain a sectional hostility against the rights of the minority, was the *overt act of the North*, THAT CRUSHED THE LAST HOPE OF THE SOUTH. *The political existence of the South was ignored, and its Constitutional guarantees and its social rights henceforth are to be in the keeping of their avowed enemies and* THE STRONG ARM OF THE FEDERAL POWER IS TO BE ALLIED TO ANTI-SLAVERY FANATICISM.

The Union of the States was a Union for peace, a Union for mutual

protection, a Union on the basis of the Constitution, a Union for exact justice, a Union for the maintenance of the rights of all, *and these things*, the North has said in its political platforms and its religious creeds, through its preachers and its politicians, and by their final triumph at a popular election, *THESE THINGS the South shall not have!*

Thus has been broken the last link in the tie of mutual confidence and affection, that bound the North and the South together AS ONE PEOPLE: Thus has the Constitution been cast aside at the ballot-box, and by a formal vote of the Northern masses, *the South has been deprived of the power of further protection WHILE IN THE UNION*: and thus it is, that the Southern people under a conviction forced upon them by passing events, *THAT THESE ANTI-SLAVERY PRECEPTS WILL BE CARRIED INTO PRACTICE*, have risen as though by common instinct for their self preservation, and now stand as one man, in an attitude of self-defense.

This is a simple and candid statement of the political condition of our country. It is true in our exposition of affairs, we have given the Southern view of the question, and in so doing have borrowed the language and pressed the arguments that are currently used among the Southern people. These arguments may be sophistical and the language may be dictated by passion and excitement. Be it so; *THE FACTS, that have caused this upheaving of the people*, are patent to the whole world—they are historical truths that can not be denied, and we have drawn this vivid picture *that you may better understand the tone of public feeling in the South*; and thus understanding it, you can the more speedily allay the excitement, by kindly considering their complaints, rather than blindly attempting to force them into submission.

THE NORTH MUST SPEAK.

If the Southern people have misunderstood the feelings and designs of the North, then as honorable men, hasten to undeceive them and cheerfully, freely and frankly agree to grant the guarantees they ask; all that the Southern people ask of you, is an assurance of protection from the aggressive hostility of your people to their rights under the Constitution and the Laws of our country.

If the Northern people *are unwilling* to grant these, then the apprehensions of the South are well founded, and obstinate politicians, who are willing to sacrifice their country, rather than lose place and power, will soon bring about a conflict with an exasperated and defiant people, *RESISTING, as they verily believe, an unlawful attack NOT ONLY, upon their rights and equality as a Sovereign people, but even UPON THEIR LIBERTY and THEIR LIVES AS INDIVIDUALS.*

In this national crisis, it is the duty of every citizen and every patriot, to use his influence in appeasing the wrath of infuriated Sections, and *demand an adjustment of the differences between them*, ere a collision in hot blood, sweeps them beyond the control of reason, renders them deaf to the calls of peace, and destroys forever all hopes of reconciliation. Kind words and conciliation alone, can soothe these angry passions, and there is no individual however humble and obscure, that can not exert some influence in bringing about a healthy reaction in public sentiment in favor of a peaceful settlement of our troubles in preference to a resort to the barbarous arbitration of the sword.

Then let each and every individual in the North be aroused to prompt action, that the pending dangers may be averted. Let the people come together in public meetings, free from party managers and intriguing demagogues, and *if untrammelled in the expression of their honest sentiments, THEY WILL GIVE JUSTICE TO THE SOUTH and will purge themselves of the abolitionists, who have led them astray.* Let the people of the North rise *en masse* and LIKE TRUE AND HONEST PATRIOTS AS THEY ARE, *extend the olive branch of peace and reconciliation to the aggrieved people of the South.*

WHAT HARM HAS SLAVERY DONE THE NORTH?

Let them ask themselves and each other if this institution of slavery has ever done them any harm? Did it not exist before this Union was formed? Did it not exist when this Federal Constitution was adopted? and will it not still exist even after the Union of these States shall be dissolved? Has not slavery been extended to territory after territory and slave State after slave State been admitted into the Union under the operations of the present government? and has not the North *notwithstanding all this*, continued to grow in wealth and prosperity, and have not Northern people spread over the common territories, and *made of them STATE UPON STATE, until the free States now outnumber the slave-holding States?* Has not all this been done under the present Constitution and the present laws of our country, and *wherein has the North been injured?* Did the South when it had an over-ruling majority in Congress and held the Executive power of the Federal Government ever interfere with the rights or the prosperity or the material interests, or the social order, or the religious sentiments of the North? Was not the South when it had the power, always conscientious and just to the North? Then why comes *this NEW ORDER OF THINGS, these new constructions of THAT SAME OLD CONSTITUTION, the moment the North has an unchecked sectional control over the Federal Government?* Are you fellow-countrymen, acting out the principles of our fathers? Did they ever exhibit this hostility to their Southern brethren? Did they ever deny to their Southern brethren equal rights and equal benefits in our common country and under our common government? But you are told by your political leaders, that *their new fangled constructions* of the great constitutional laws of the country have triumphed at the polls and "you must not back out from your principles;"—that is from the principles of the platform adopted,—NOT BY YOUR REVOLUTIONARY SIREN,—*but by your political leaders last Spring at Chicago.*

THE CHICAGO PLATFORM NULLIFIES THE CONSTITUTION.

And what are these principles? They are ASSUMPTIONS based as *your Southern brethren feel and believe* upon a construction of the U. S. Constitution, contrary to the agreed rights of the South and against the decision of the highest judicial tribunal established by that constitution. The old bulwarks of the Constitution and the judgment of the Supreme Court have been supplanted by the Chicago platform, and owing to the disruption of the democratic party and the fanatical delusion of a portion of the Northern people, the assumptions of that platform triumphed at the last Presidential election, for the first time, since the foundation of our Government. How, then, can these be

called the principles of our forefathers, when our fore-fathers neither advocated them, nor acted upon them? It is only after a lapse of three-fourths of a century, that our Government is called upon for the first time, by a popular vote, to carry them into execution: stronger evidence of the unconstitutionality of these assumptions, could not be presented, even had not the South unanimously protested against them, when they were first enunciated and has continued to this moment, to denounce them as a treasonable suppression of their rights under the Federal compact.

THE PEOPLE REPUDIATED THE CHICAGO PLATFORM, NOTWITHSTANDING MR. LINCOLN'S ACCIDENTAL ELECTION.

Now let us consider that Presidential triumph, and see what it is. In eighteen Northern States, Lincoln received 1837 thousand votes, and in fifteen Southern States he received only 27 thousand.

The figures seem prophetic, for 1837 was a year of disaster and ruin to our country, and a repetition of these fatal figures in the vote for Lincoln has brought upon us calamities, a thousand-fold greater. If to 1837 we add 27, as indicating the Southern vote, we obtain 1864, the year when Lincoln's successor will be elected, and at that election let us hope will terminate forever, all discord and animosity between the two great geographical sections of our country. But these 1864 thousand voters are not the people of the United States. With the exception of the 27,000 Place-hunters in the South, who voted for Mr. Lincoln and who have so annoyed him for appointments to office since his election, the whole South voted against the assumptions of his political platform, and in the Northern States that platform was opposed by one million six hundred thousand patriots who preferred their whole country, and the principles of their fathers, to the disloyal platform of a sectional party. Thus do we find sixteen hundred thousand votes in the North and twelve hundred and sixty-six thousand in the South, in all 2866 thousand votes, against the 1864 thousand which elected Mr. Lincoln. Is this a triumph to boast of? With the entire South and nearly one-half of the North opposed to it, the Republican party truly should be cautious in attempting to force upon the people of this country untried political principles which have been repudiated by nearly two-thirds of the whole nation. With the certain knowledge that two millions eight hundred thousand voters, and a majority of more than one million of the people, are utterly opposed to these anti-slavery principles, and to these revolutionary and unconstitutional doctrines, they should not trample in defiance upon the expressed will of the people, North as well as South, and say "we have no concessions to make but are determined to retract nothing, to yield not a single inch, and to stand firm under every provocation and every threat, even though the land be deluged with blood, and wasted and desolated with fire and the sword."

With flippant tongues, these leaders who have led their deceived followers away from the Constitution of our fathers, tell them "to stand by the Constitution as it is,"—that is as their platform interprets it,— "and to make no compromises that would involve them in the guilt of moral treason and justly render them the scorn of mankind!" What then is this moral treason, which is dreaded more than actual treason against their country?

SHALL A NORTHERN CONCEIT OUTWEIGH SOUTHERN EXISTENCE?

Fellow countrymen of the North! let us reason together about this matter. Are you willing, at the call of your political leaders, to wage a war of extermination on the South, and throw away all the blessings and prosperity you have enjoyed, shut up your factories and workshops, turn your teeming population out of employment, and bring them to the agonies of starvation, and the madness of desperation, and let riot and famine, confusion and anarchy usurp the reign of law and order, *solely*, *SOLELY*, because of the fear of yielding up a personal opinion, upon a matter that concerns you in no way whatever? Is not this whole question of slavery, as it exists in the South, a mere abstract sentiment *with you*, without any bearing upon your freedom of conduct, your liberty of action, your pursuit of happiness, or your expansion in the common territories?

On the other hand, when climate forced your forefathers to send their negroes to the South, and when climate fastened them upon the South, until they became incorporated in the material existence of the South as much even as the land they till, did not our Revolutionary fathers, regarding the question as so pregnant of good or ill to our whole country expressly provide that it should work out its own solution? and, in order that it might be protected from all outside interference—such as you are now attempting—did they not guarantee in the Federal Constitution that fugitives from labor should be sent back to their homes, and that each State should decide upon the question of slavery for itself, and for itself alone, and no State, or people of a State, should ever resist or interfere with the rights of the people of another State in slave property? Under this old Federal Compact you have prospered, and so has the South; but now you are called upon by your party leaders to sacrifice your prosperity, and annihilate the Constitutional rights of the South, in order that you may not be guilty of the “moral treason” of being inconsistent to an unlawful anti-slavery sentiment, which your teachers and your preachers have thrust upon your consciences, as if you had to answer for the sins of a people whose consciences are as pure and undefiled in their opinion, at least, as your own!

Truly, fellow countrymen of the North, is not this carrying an intolerant conceit, in respect to the rights and the privileges of others even beyond the pale of common decency? Does not this look like that spirit of persecution which first broke out among the Pilgrims who landed on Plymouth Rock, and which dictated the Blue Laws of Connecticut, and burned women at Salem? Then it struggled in the weakness of infancy; now we behold it in the pride of strength, and inflated with power in the full vigor of mature development.

THE POLICY OF ANTI-SLAVERY POLITICIANS.

The tone and spirit of the appeals of your political leaders, and your religious teachers, for some years past, have aimed to carry your feelings and your sentiments beyond the spirit of the law, and the bounds of reason and justice. Your politicians do not intend to GIVE THE SOUTH ANY GUARANTEES OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE UNION. *They have labored for years to commit you to an uncompromising hostility to slavery and*

to its final and total extinction. They have done their utmost to foster and cherish in your bosoms a principle subversive of the rights of the South, and while thus inculcating this revolutionary sentiment, they craftily prepared your minds, for the bloody strife of section against section, which they clearly foresaw would result whenever the Federal Government stood pledged to carry into practice this sentiment, and resolve it into an actual assault upon the rights and the safety of the South. That time has arrived; and your political leaders are preparing you for the conflict, by arousing a military enthusiasm and enrolling volunteers to subjugate the South. The Legislatures of Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts have already passed resolutions, tendering to the Federal Government both men and money to force the South into submission. And do you think the South can be driven by force into a fraternal union with you? So far from it, these measures only tend to strengthen the disunion movement, and arouse in the South, already complaining of your aggression, a determined spirit of resistance. See the effect of your coercive resolutions upon the Border slave States, that have heretofore resisted the SECESSION MOVEMENT OF THE COTTON STATES. They have, with perfect unanimity through their people and their legislatures, declared that no Northern army, to coerce the South, shall march through their borders, and that they will resist to the utmost any attempt to coerce the South. Thus have you made these States allies of the secession States, and you will make their people, in resisting a mighty wrong, the aiders and supporters of disunion. And yet, there are no truer States in the Union than Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee. Their gallant sons have ever been the first to rally around the flag of their country, and pour out their blood with a freedom amounting to recklessness in defence of their country's honor. Their noble-hearted and patriotic Statesmen have ever been the first in the Councils of the Nation to stay the hand of ultra fanaticism and nullification, whether from the North or from the South, and with soul-stirring eloquence they have ever counselled peace and conciliation. Their people have ever been sound upon every question of national politics that embraced the great interests of their whole country, North as well as South. And even in the present crisis, Kentucky's leading Statesman was the first to propose measures of peace and justice, and with outbursts of thrilling eloquence he beseeched you to stay the angry strife with words of peace and kindness. But your political leaders have rejected all overtures, and have called upon you to arm for the conflict, and make preparation for battle! They have said a just, and honorable and peaceable compromise shall not be made, and happiness and prosperity shall not be restored to our country. They have told you, you shall have no voice in this matter, but you must fall into the ranks and march to the South, according to the programme marked out by them, for your performance. "Contemplated treason and disunion," they anticipated as the necessary consequences of their political success, and "the enforcement of the laws" is now the rallying cry, to gather the hosts of fanaticism under the banner of the IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT!

Let us look back and see if the events of even the past year do not sustain this view of the strife into which your politicians are now leading you.

When the great leader of the Republican party shrunk from openly

encouraging Old John Brown to make his raid upon Virginia, and seize upon the Government arsenal at Harper's Ferry, he was *then afraid* of the outburst of public indignation, which he rightly apprehended. But when, on his return from Europe, he found Old John Brown idolized as a "martyred hero," and half a million of men under the name of Wide Awakes, in honor of Brown's Kansas Company of Free-booters, organized to carry out his doctrine of the irrepressible conflict, and when, last summer this great leader made a triumphal march from the Atlantic shore to Kansas, and reviewed the teeming mass, ready to do battle in this unlawful and unnatural strife against their brothers in the South, *then, THEN*, in the exultation of his heart, he waved his hand to the assembled hosts, and shouted in tones that sent a convulsive shudder throughout the Southern heart, "Who's afraid!" Afraid of what? Afraid to inaugurate the bloody conflict "that was to be irrepressible until every slave that stood upon the soil of the Continent of America had been liberated, and free labor should with victorious banner reign supreme, as the sole and only kind of labor tolerated throughout the length and breadth of this land, North and South, East and West, from the arctic circle to the torrid zone, from the Atlantic borders to the Pacific coasts!"

Afraid of what? Afraid to raise the banner of this irrepressible conflict, and march to the bloody carnage and warfare, even though the Laws and Constitution of our Government should be torn to pieces as so much waste paper; even though the whole South should be desolated as a barren waste, its property destroyed, its homes burned, its wives and daughters ravished, and its rivers overflowed with the blood of its slaughtered victims.

"This is the drama of the irrepressible conflict. Let us inaugurate it! Who's afraid?"

SHALL WE ACT AS STATESMEN OR AS DESPOTS?

Brethren of the North! there are some of us in the South who still have confidence in your justice, in your sense of right, in your intentions to abide by the principles of forbearance and concession, which animated our forefathers when they established our Government, and grasped within its protecting folds the diverse interests of every section, however antagonistic they might be to each other. We also believe that this Government is the best that ever was made, or ever can be made by mortal man, and that no sacrifice that we can possibly make should have any consideration whatever, when we are called upon to decide whether this Government shall stand or fall! This is the decision that you and that we, are now called upon to make; and, if that decision be not in favor of peace and brotherly love, in favor of justice to all, and mutual forbearance towards each other, then indeed will future generations look on the record of our suicidal acts, upon the pages of history and wonder that we, boasting of our enlightened civilization, of our glorious freedom, of our unbounded prosperity, of our unalloyed happiness and of our faith in the Christian religion, should, in the folly and madness of an evil hour, have abandoned them all forever, and have brought upon our country the despotisms and barbarisms of the dark ages!

We are summoned, fellow citizens of our common country, to rise

above the feelings and frailties of our poor human nature, and assume the duties and responsibilities of Patriots and Statesmen! We are called upon by the crisis now upon us to lay deeper and broader the foundations of our Government, and strengthen its bonds so as to resist in all future time the fury of popular fanaticism, and the crumbling process of disintegration. Are you willing to make the necessary sacrifices in the performance of your part of this great and mighty work?

You need not ask what you are to do. We have shown the feeling which your political principles, and your anti-slavery creeds, have produced in the South, and which your disguised Abolition leaders and party managers have aggravated to such a pitch of excitement, until at last the people of the South have been forced to say to the people of the North, as Abraham said to Lot, "Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me; if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or, if thou depart to the right hand, then will I go to the left."

Why this apathy and indifference to the demands of your Southern brethren? Are not their complaints as just and as important as those which our forefathers sent up to the Throne of Great Britain? Can you learn no lesson by experience? Do you not read on the pages of history that the Government of Great Britain exasperated the American Colonies by treating their petitions with contempt? And will you, too, turn a deaf ear to the appeals of your countrymen, and mock at their just complaints? King George said to his American subjects, "In this way you shall trade, in this way you shall think, in this way you shall worship God;" and the Colonies resisted King George. Do you suppose the South will not fight to maintain and retain rights and liberties as important and as momentous to them as those, to obtain which our Revolutionary fathers fought so long and so unflinchingly?

But, you say, "the Southern States have seceded from the Union, and abrogated the laws of the Federal Government; they have taken possession of the forts erected for the defence of those States, and have occupied the custom houses established for the convenience of their people; they have captured the government vessels, and fired upon the flag of our country."

True! And all these things did also the rebellious subjects of King George, and when they asked for concessions and conciliation, he enforced the laws against them at the point of the bayonet, and in his attempt to coerce them into submission, he only awoke from his delusion when it was, alas, too late!

Do you think the arrogant advisers of King George were right in resorting to coercion for the enforcement of the laws, and for the protection of the royal property, in preference to listening to the complaints of the Colonists, and adopting measures for the redress of their grievances?

Old George denounced his American subjects as "traitors, and scoundrels and rebels." And what do you call your Southern brethren?

But you think you are in the right; for your conscience does not convict you of having done the South any wrong. King George said, "I am in the right, and I have no wish but the prosperity of my dominions, and to prevent anarchy."

"But," you say, "we are in the right, although King George was not."

History tells us "that nine-tenths of all the tyranny of this world has been perpetrated by persons *believing* themselves in the right. Arguing on that convenient premise, the Dey of Algiers would cut off twenty heads of a morning; Father Dominic would burn a score of Jews in presence of the most Catholic King, and the Archbishops of Toledo and Salamanca would sing Amen! Protestants were roasted, Jesuits hung and quartered, at Smithfield, and witches burned at Salem, and all by worthy people who believed they had the best authority for their actions."

"But you say our political principles, and our anti-slavery sentiments are popular, as was proved in the last Presidential election; and, having the approbation of a ruling majority of the people, we see no good reason for changing those sentiments, or modifying those principles, especially under the threats of the South."

"Popular! So, indeed, was the American war popular in England in 1775, for the address for coercing the Colonies was carried by a vote of 304 to only 106 against it in the House of Commons, and by 104 to 29 in the House of Lords."

"Popular! So was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes popular in France; so was the massacre of St. Bartholomew; so was the Inquisition exceedingly popular in Spain."

Fellow countrymen, can you not furl your conflict banner, and extend the right hand of fellowship to your brethren in the South? They may be rebels and traitors in your opinion, even as our forefathers were in the opinion of King George; but for all that, they have fled from your tyranny and oppression, from your hatred and aggression, and are you going to treat them, even as the British treated our forefathers, by trying to coerce them into obedience, under the same pretext of enforcing the laws? Are you willing, fellow countrymen, to be the supple tools of your political leaders, like so many Hessians, to carry out their revolutionary mandates? Is it not rather your duty to demand of your State and National Legislators that you, their masters and their superiors in all primary decrees, shall have a voice in this question—this great primary question—the solution of which is to decide the destinies of our country, for fraternal peace or for fratricidal war; for a Union as christians and as patriots; or, for an eternal disunion, with bloody wars and endless carnage, such as even the fiends of hell would be ashamed of? Do not both duty and interest require that you take the management and decision of this perilous question out of the hands of your reckless political leaders, who have brought this crisis upon you, and who are now urging you on to the final consummation of their inhuman and blood-thirsty designs?

Nay, more! Do not every consideration, and every impulse, that can animate the heart of a christian patriot, and an honest man, impose upon you the obligation to offer terms of reconciliation to your Southern brethren, to soothe their aggrieved feelings, and to give assurances of safety to themselves, and of security to their rights, and thus bring them back to a desirable Union with you?

Nay, more! Does not every consideration of humanity call upon you to do first all these, and then, even then, to stay the uplifted hand of angry resentment that is raised against a brother's life, and to bear with him in patience until his good sense and sober reflection shall

have returned, until passion and excitement shall have subsided, until reason shall have resumed her sway over his thoughts and feelings, until patriotism shall have triumphed over disunion, and, finally, until he shall renew his fealty to our Common Government, and thus unite us all again, as one people, under one flag, even the same glorious old Banner of the Union, no longer rent and torn and trailing in the dust, by the strife of Star against Star and Stripe against Stripe!

THE EFFECTS OF COERCION.

One single sign in the North of returning good will and good faith, will accomplish more in disarming the South, and in purchasing peace, than will a thousand millions of treasure expended in munitions of war, for the slaughter of American citizens. One single acknowledgment of the rights of the South will achieve a greater victory than can a million of soldiers triumphing in a hundred pitched battles! *The South will capitulate to friends and brothers, but will never surrender to an armed force.* And how can we in Kentucky, fellow countrymen of the North, roll back this secession tide, when you shut your ears to the complaints of the South, and allow your politicians by the adoption of coercive measures, to force our people, even our Union-loving people, into the ranks of the Secessionists to fight under the banner of Disunion? Are not their rights our rights? Do you think the Border States can see their sister States pour out their blood, and sacrifice their lives, their all, in defence of those rights, and they not join in the struggle? Because our people have more calmly borne their grievances and clung fast to their hopes of defence in the Union, do not trust too much to their patience and loyalty, for the Border States and the Cotton States are only divided in opinion as to the measure and mode of redress, and not as to their common complaints against the Republican party.

Already under the apprehension of a Northern coercion movement, "Southern Rights" and anti-coercion military clubs are organizing in our midst, and the secession ball rolls onward. Your Congressmen say they have no compromises to make; your State Legislatures say, we will force the South to submit to the laws: your Generals and your Captains say our forces are ready for active service against the South. And all these things sink deep in the hearts of our people and make them think there is no hope of justice from their Northern brethren. Silently and gloomily our people prepare to meet force with force, and the secession ball rolls onward: a year ago, you told the South—"we also will laugh at your calamity; we will mock when your fear cometh," and the people of the South are beginning to heed the warning—"forget not the voice of thine enemies: the tumult of those that rise up against thee increaseth continually," and the secession ball rolls onward.

Even those who have battled earnestly and nobly for the Union are faltering in their devotion; and thus it is, as our people prepare for the bloody ordeal, their passions become inflamed, and the secession ball rolls onward—onward—onward; gathering strength and might and power, as it rolls onward! And shall its fatal tread press the sacred soil beneath the shades of Ashland, where repose the ashes of him, "who prayed God he might die ere this glorious Union was dissolved." Shall the life cherished hopes of this noble patriot fade away as a dream? Shall the wisest

and best constructed system for the advancement of human happiness and human prosperity ever devised by the genius of man, be thus destroyed, in order that fanaticism may reign on the right hand and anarchy rule on the left? Shall our children crushed beneath the yoke of despotism and tyranny, point the finger of scorn to us, their apostate fathers, as truckling cowards, who were afraid to acknowledge an error and repair a wrong, and lost their birth-right in their pride to be consistent on an abstraction?

It is for our Northern friends to answer!

They alone can settle the commotion that now upheaves the Union from its very foundations and threatens to crush the Temple of Liberty, at once and forever!

ACTUAL REVOLUTION NOW EXISTS.

The people of the South are in a state of revolution; they have risen in defence of their inalienable rights to life, to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Their authority for it is expressed in the Bill of Rights as set forth by our forefathers and which is incorporated in the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, as the fundamental principle of all Republican governments, in the following words:—"That all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness, security and protection of property; for the advancement of these ends they have at all times an inalienable right to alter, reform, or abolish their government in such manner as they think proper." This is the broad basis of our several State Governments and it is the very corner stone of our Federal Government. In both governments the people are recognized as sovereign; and in their hands alone is placed the power to alter, reform, or abolish their government in such manner as they think proper. Constitutions are but the creatures of their will and Executive Officers and Legislative Assemblies, are subordinate instruments under the forms of those Constitutions. When the people abolish a Constitution, they rise above its obligations, and its power over them ceases to exist.

This is the attitude assumed by the people of the seceding States, toward the Federal Government; they have revoked their assent to the U. S. Constitution, and as a necessary consequence deny the authority of the Federal powers created by that Constitution. Three-fourths of the States ratifying their act would make it binding on both sides.

Whether right or wrong, the fact of revolution on the part of the seceding States, exists in stern reality, and the question arises, how shall it be treated? The Secessionists say, in justification of their action—"had they not withdrawn in a formal and orderly manner, by conventions of the people, then, they would have continued under the authority of the Federal Government, and been subject to its laws; and any resistance to those laws by them as citizens, would have been treason and rebellion, and punishable as such." By the act of secession they have withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Federal Government and are no longer amenable to its laws; they are, no longer citizens and subjects, but an independent people, approachable only by mediation and conciliation, or if the dissolution is complete, through nego-

tiation by treaty." This right of the people of a State or province for just causes to rise above the constituted authorities and declare their independence of them, was first asserted as an active principle, by our Revolutionary fathers, when they threw off the yoke of Great Britain. It has since been frequently recognized by the American people, and the Federal Government, as an inherent right belonging to all people and every nation. The U. S. Congress, expressed sympathy with the Spanish American Provinces when they declared their independence of the Government of Spain; they likewise aided and succored the people of Greece, in their struggles for liberty; they encouraged the people of Hungary in their revolution against the tyranny of Austrian despotism and even within the past year, Garibaldi, in overthrowing the Government of Naples, has been hailed as the deliverer of Italy. Need a stronger instance of the application of this principle by the Federal Government be cited, than that of Texas: did the U. S. Government aid and encourage Mexico, in her efforts to subdue her rebellious province and enforce her laws; or did our Government recognize the right of the people of Texas to assert their independence of Mexico? The answer is to be found in the additional star emblazoned on the Flag of our Union; far better would it have been that that star had never been added, if it is to be obliterated by force and violence. Strange that the very error that we have condemned in other Governments, in their mode of treating a people resisting their tyranny and oppression, should be committed by our Government. We wonder why Austria did not conciliate Hungary; why Mexico did not indulge Texas; why King Bomba did not cease to oppress the people of Naples; why George the Third did not repeal the stamp act: we think the people oppressed by these over-bearing Governments, were right in their demands for a redress of their grievances and the Governments were wrong, reckless and intolerant in their efforts to force their people into subjection by the strong arm of the military power; and yet we, the most liberal minded people on earth and with the light of these examples before us, are about to commit the same old folly, of using force instead of conciliation, to bring our seceding States back again in the Union.

**To the Noble Band of Conservative men in the North
we have an earnest word to say:**

In the foregoing Appeal, we have endeavored to show the causes that have brought about this revolution among Southern people, and how it is claimed, that they have been oppressed by the acts of the Anti-Slavery Party of the North, their rights denied and their lives and property imperilled; that Anti-Slavery Party will soon have the Federal Government in its hands, and by the aid of the purse and sword will be able to carry its unconstitutional and tyrannical policy into forcible execution against the Southern States. The policy of that party is in its nature and effect, revolutionary, and the South has shrunk with dread from its blighting consequences and sought refuge from its enforcement by a counter revolution. We, in Kentucky, have ever had an abiding confidence in the honesty of our Northern brethren and would have been willing to have awaited the solution of our differences at the ballot box, under a firm conviction that that was the

proper mode of redress for our wrongs, and that truth, reason, and justice, would there eventually triumph.

But the hasty blunder of the Cotton States in taking separate action in the mode of redress thought by them the most advisable; and the determined folly of a majority in Congress, to purchase a triumph for the Republican Party even over the wreck of our glorious Union, have brought our perils to a momentous crisis, and in this the hour of our danger, we beseech you, Fellow-Countrymen, not to abandon us! In the struggle between the Union and the Black Republican Party, each for its existence, you are to decide, which shall live and which shall die! Thousands and hundreds of thousands of true and devoted conservative men in the South, who have had to bend before the secession hurricane, are waiting your action, with beating hearts and anxious minds: when the howl of the tempest has passed and the people are prepared for calm reflection, then the voice of those men can draw the people back to their allegiance to the Federal Government, under a flag of truce from the Republican Party. But will the Republican Party abandon their hostilities and proclaim peace and safety to the South? It is for you, the intelligent, conservative and controlling power in the public opinion of the free States to decide!

Our hopes for the salvation of this country are centered upon your exertion! The destiny of this nation is in your hands!

In conclusion, Conservative Brethren of the North, we offer you an apology, for aught we have said in this Appeal, which seemed to charge you with any agency in bringing about this unhappy and deplorable crisis. Far be it from us, even to appear ungrateful to you, who have ever held fast to the principles of the Constitution as our fathers established it and have fought step by step against the nullifying, and sectional principles of the Black Republican Party. We have looked with admiration upon you in your efforts to protect and preserve the rights of the South against the assaults of a majority of your own people and we grasp you to our hearts as brothers; we recognise you "as brothers in lineage, as brothers in allegiance and in the midst of all perils, as brothers in affection, still!" To you the people of Kentucky, by a formal vote of their Legislature, have said—"Resolved—that We, the Representatives of the people of Kentucky, return our cordial and heartfelt thanks to the thousands of people in the Free States, who are now engaged in rolling back the tide of Black Republican fanaticism; we trust they will continue their patriotic exertions, and we pledge ourselves to unite our exertions with theirs in the holy work of preserving the Union of these States."

And may the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, bless and prosper you in this work and aid you in bringing it to a peaceful and happy conclusion!

A VOICE FROM KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE, KY., January, 1861.

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